

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----016118 081732Z /41

O P 081718Z SEP 77
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8087
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY GABORONE PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 LONDON 15008

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PDEV US UK RH UN
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: NEXT STEPS

SUMMARY. PARAGRAPHS TWO AND THREE BELOW ARE ACTION REQUESTS ON BRITISH PROPOSALS THAT (A) THE SECURITY COUNCIL BE CONVENED ON SEPT 15 TO AUTHORIZE THE SYG TO APPOINT A UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE ON RHODESIA; AND (B) THE US AND UK MAKE, WHERE PRACTICABLE, IMMEDIATE JOINT DEMARCHES IN SECURITY COUNCIL AND FRONT LINE CAPITALS EXPLAINING THIS PRELIMINARY STEP. THE REMAINDER OF THE CABLE OUTLINES CURRENT FCO THINKING ON POSSIBLE STEPS AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA. THE BRITISH URGE CAUTION; THEY CONSIDER OIL RATHER THAN ARMS THE MOST EFFECTIVE INSTRUMENT TO BRING PRESSURE ON PRETORIA WHEN AND IF THE NEED BECOMES APPARENT. END SUMMARY.

1. EMBASSY OFFICER SAW JOHNNY GRAHAM SEPT 8 TO DISCUSS
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NEXT STEPS ON RHODESIA. THE FOREIGN SECRETARY HAD JUST RETURNED FROM SPAIN AND GRAHAM WAS ABLE TO RELATE OWEN'S CURRENT THOUGHTS.

2. OWEN WANTS TO MOVE QUICKLY IN INTRODUCING THE SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS AT THE UNITED NATIONS. IF WE CONCUR, HMG WOULD LIKE TO SEND A LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF

THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON MONDAY, SEPT 12, ASKING THAT THE COUNCIL BE CONVENED ON THURSDAY. THE COUNCIL WOULD THEN BE INVITED TO TAKE NOTE OF THE BRITISH WHITE PAPER AND TO AUTHORIZE THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO APPOINT A SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AS ENVISAGED IN PARA 11C OF THE PROPOSALS (THE FCO IS THINKING OF EXPANDING THE SYG'S MANDATE BY ALSO INCLUDING AUTHORITY TO DEVELOP PLANS FOR A UN FORCE BUT GRAHAM BELIEVES SUCH A PARAGRAPH WOULD COMPLICATE THE COUNCIL'S DISCUSSION AND APPEAR IN AFRICAN EYES TO BE TOO MUCH TOO FAST.)

3. GRAHAM NOTED THAT THESE EXPEDITIOUS STEPS, WHILE MAINTAINING MOMENTUM, ALSO RUN THE RISK OF SEEMING TO IGNORE AFRICAN REACTIONS TO THE SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS. HE THEREFORE SUGGESTS THAT US AND UK REPRESENTATIVES IN SECURITY COUNCIL CAPITALS AND IN FRONT LINE CAPITALS CALL ON THEIR HOST GOVERNMENTS TO EXPLAIN THE LIMITED AND PRELIMINARY NATURE OF THE COUNCIL ACTION. THEY WOULD POINT OUT THAT THE APPOINTMENT OF A UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE WOULD NOT COMMIT ANY OF THE INTERESTED

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
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FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8088
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY
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PARTIES TO THE OVERALL SETTLEMENT PLAN. IF NECESSARY, THE DEMARCHE COULD STRONGLY UNDERSCORE OUR CONVICTION THAT SMITH IS ON THE WAY OUT. GRAHAM PROPOSED THIS DEMARCHE TAKE PLACE SOMETIME OVER THE WEEKEND AND ASKED FOR OUR IMMEDIATE REACTION. (GRAHAM SUGGESTED THE ANGOLANS COULD BE CONTACTED IN NEW YORK BUT WAS UNCERTAIN HOW OR WHETHER THE RUSSIANS AND CHINESE SHOULD BE APPROACHED.)

4. GRAHAM THEN WENT ON TO STATE THAT THE FOREIGN SECRETARY FIRMLY BELIEVES IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO PUT PRESSURE ON THE SOUTH AFRICANS AT THIS EARLY STAGE OF THE PROCEEDINGS. THE FRONT LINE AND NATIONALIST LEADERS ARE UNDERSTANDABLY RELUCTANT TO ENDORSE THE SETTLEMENT PROPOSALS WITHOUT SOME ASSURANCE THAT SMITH WILL IN FACT STEP DOWN WHEN THE TIME COMES. BUT PRESIDENT CARTER HAS APPARENTLY CONVINCED NYERERE THAT APPROPRIATE US PRESSURE WILL BE BROUGHT TO BEAR WHEN NECESSARY, AND OWEN IN A SECRET

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RECENT LETTER TO KAUNDA HAS SOUGHT TO CONVEY THE SAME CONFIDENCE. SMITH, HOWEVER, HAS NOT REJECTED THE PROPOSALS AND ONLY A SUCCESSFUL UN RESOLUTION NEXT WEEK WILL PROVIDE THE CIRCUMSTANCES TO DEMONSTRATE WHETHER SMITH INDEED INTENDS TO BE OBSTRUCTIONIST. WHILE NOT WHOLLY COOPERATIVE, GRAHAM ARGUES, THE SOUTH AFRICANS HAVE AT LEAST BEEN HELPFUL IN KEEPING SMITH IN CHECK, AND OWEN BELIEVES THAT A SUDDEN MOVE NOW TO SQUEEZE THE SOUTH AFRICANS WOULD LIKELY PROVOKE PRETORIA INTO A LESS FLEXIBLE AND PERHAPS DEFIANT STANCE. (GRAHAM WAS UNAWARE OF THE INDIAN DRAFT RESOLUTION ON OIL SANCTIONS-USUN 2878.)

5. EMBASSY OFFICER AGREED THAT PRECIPITOUS UN MEASURES AIMED AT SOUTH AFRICA COULD DAMAGE IMMEDIATE ANGLO-AMERICAN TACTICS. AT THE SAME TIME, "MILITARY TALKS" AMONG THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER, THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AND THE VARIOUS RHODESIAN AND NATIONALIST COMMANDERS COULD GO ON FOR WEEKS AND MONTHS WITHOUT ANY REAL CONCLUSION. GRAHAM SAID THAT IF A STRUNG OUT PROCESS SEEMED TO BE DEVELOPING, THEN THAT WAS THE TIME TO EXERT PRESSURE ON THE PARTIES EITHER THROUGH THE FRONT LINE STATES OR THE SOUTH AFRICANS.

6. IF THE NEED TO TAKE STEPS AGAINST THE SOUTH AFRICANS BECOMES APPARENT, GRAHAM PROPOSED THAT ACTION ON OIL WOULD BE MORE EFFECTIVE, BOTH POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY, THAN ACTION ON ARMS. GRAHAM FORESEES, IF NECESSARY, SPECIFIC BUT PRIVATE WARNINGS FROM SELECTED GOVERNMENTS INCLUDING THE IRANIANS FOLLOWED BY SIMILAR

WARNINGS FROM THE MAJOR OIL COMPANIES. AN OIL EMBARGO
OR A SYSTEM CONTROLLING OIL COULD BE INITIATED OUTSIDE
THE UN FRAMEWORK AND ITS IMPACT WOULD BE ALMOST IMME-
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DIATE. A MANDATORY ARMS EMBARGO, ON THE OTHER HAND,
WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO ENFORCE AND SLOW TO TAKE EFFECT.
MOREOVER, A PROPOSED ARMS EMBARGO WOULD APPEAR IN
PRETORIA AS A THREAT TO SOUTH AFRICA'S OWN SECURITY
WHILE AN OIL EMBARGO WOULD DEMONSTRATE THAT SMITH IS
SIMPLY A BURDEN THE SOUTH AFRICANS CAN NO LONGER AFFORD
TO CARRY.

7. COMMENT. GRAHAM'S MESSAGE IS THAT WE SHOULD MOVE
WITH HASTE AND IN PUBLIC ON THE UN FRONT AND WITH
CAUTION AND IN PRIVATE ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN FRONT.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DEMARCHES, PROPOSALS (BID)
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 08-Sep-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 22 May 2009
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
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Format: TEL
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Litigation History:
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Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Retention: 0
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Review Event:
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Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 1350122
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: RHODESIA: NEXT STEPS SUMMARY. PARAGRAPHS TWO AND THREE BELOW ARE ACTION REQUESTS ON BRITISH PROPOSALS THAT (A) THE SECURIT
TAGS: PDEV, US, UK, RH, UNSC
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/ef6eaa4a-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
22 May 2009
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009